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ABSTRACT

This paper first briefly reviews what Halliday and Hasan (1976) said about "(the) same." The paper then examines the understanding of this form by qualitatively analyzing 259 naturally occurring spoken tokens of "(the) same" in their discourse contexts. It focuses on the following questions with reference to the data: (1) What determiners can occur before "same" besides "the"? (2) When can the determiner "the" be deleted? (3) What is the structure of tokens where "(the) same" occurs without a Head noun? (4) How is "(the) same" used in comparative reference and nominal substitution? and (5) Why is Conversation Analysis (CA) potentially very important when analyzing cohesive devices in conversation? The paper proposes that, based on data from conversation, the most frequent grammatical function of "same" in conversation is adjectival within a nominal group with a Head noun and not, as Halliday and Hasan's account suggests, occurring alone in an elliptical noun head in a nominal group. It calls for more work to be done in terms of linking a conversation analytic framework with issues and concerns in cohesion analysis. Selected transcript from "The Nixon Watergate Tapes" (1974) is appended. (NKA)

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A Discourse Analysis of '(the) same' in English Conversation.

By

Jean Wong and Marianne Celce-Murcia

Paper presented at the Conference of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (St. Louis, MO, February 24-27,2001)

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A Discourse Analysis of '(the) same'

1. Objectives of the presentation
   - Briefly review what Halliday & Hasan (1976) said about "(the) same"
   - Enrich our understanding of this form by qualitatively analyzing 25 naturally occurring spoken tokens of "(the) same" in their discourse contexts
   - Focus on the following questions with reference to our data:
     1. What determiners can occur before 'same' besides 'the'?
     2. When can the determiner 'the' be deleted?
     3. What is the structure of tokens where '(the) same' occurs without a Head noun?
     4. How is "(the) same" used in comparative reference and nominal substitution?
     5. Why is Conversation Analysis (CA) potentially very important when we analyze cohesive devices in conversation?

2. Summary of Halliday & Hasan's (1976) observations about "(the) same"

Pp. 77-80 under 'comparative reference' this form is in 'general comparison'; they suggest most instances are sentence internal and not cohesive (It's the same cat as the one we saw yesterday.) Cohesion can occur and some cases are 'text reference' where the form refers back to all of a previous segment. No examples of cohesion given.

Pp. 105-112 Nominal substitution

p. 105- Typically accompanied by 'the'; presupposes an entire nominal group unless elements are specifically repudiated, usually through postmodification, "with/without".

A: I'll have two poached eggs on toast.
B: I'll have the same. (i.e. the same = two poached eggs on toast).
Repudiation: "the same but fried" "the same without toast" etc.

p. 107- Presupposed item is almost always non-human; cannot be a proper name. It can be an attribute used in clauses of ascription.

A: John sounded rather regretful.
B: Yes, Mary sounded the same.

"Since an adjective is a kind of noun, and 'rather regretful' is a nominal group, this is still a form of nominal substitution..."

-Earlier use of "the same" as a pronoun replaceable by 'he/she/it/they' is discussed. This is sometimes imitated in current usage in legal and commercial registers, where reference is always non-human:

> "We have dispatched…your order. Kindly arrange to accept delivery of same."

'the same' can substitute for a fact:

> "John thought it was impossible. –Yes, I thought the same."

In 'say the same' one element in presupposed clause is outside the substitution:

> "We can trust Smith. I wish I could say the same of his partner."

p. 108- Especially common in dialogue is 'the same applies to/goes for…" All such cases show "the same" has the status of a fact.

"Do the same/do likewise" can substitute for the process in certain clause types:

> "They all started shouting, so I did the same."

The process plus any element not repudiated is part of the substitution.

p. 109- Some tokens are substitutes in 'happening' type clauses:

> "I lost my way in the galleries – The same thing happened to me."

"The presupposing form 'the same' can thus occur as a substitute not only for nominals expressing things…but also for facts…and for elements that are not strictly nominal at all. Whereas 'one' substitutes just the noun (Head) in the environment of a nominal group…, 'the same' substitutes a nominal group (or something else) in the environment of a clause, so that it is other elements in the clause that provide the contrastive context."

"Be the same" substitutes for either a noun or an adjective:

> "Charles is now an actor. Give half a chance I would have been the same."

p. 112- "In general, therefore, although it takes a nominal form, 'the same' functions as the accented form of the substitute in all types of substitution, clausal and verbal as well as nominal…It may also be accompanied by a pro-noun 'thing' ('way' when substituting for an attribute), as in 'said the same thing', 'tastes the same way'; these are constructed like reference items but here come to be used as substitutes in the same way as the items 'same' and 'so'…"

No further mention of "the same" in Halliday and Hasan (1989) or Halliday (1994), both of which include briefer discussions of cohesion.

3. Findings

3.1 What determiners can occur before 'same'?

One context in which *same* occurs with something other than the definite article is when it is preceded by a demonstrative (which is a related determiner form). For instance, see examples (1) and (2) on your handout.

(1)

H. Because we wanted the separation. The question is, are you then, as of now, the way they have interpreted executive privilege, is that you are not going to let Chapin testify.

P. Anybody.

H. Because it applies to executive privilege by the former people in relation to matters while they were here.

D. And the problem area is...

→ H. And that same thing would apply to Colson.

D. Well, yes, if Chuck were truly going to be doing nothing from this day on.

H. That's right. He is concerned with what he is doing...

[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 94]

(2)

H. You know he can pick the Grand Jury. Or he said he could.

P. The government is going to do that for a while.

D. A week after sentencing they are going to take all of the people who have been sentenced before a Grand Jury.

→ P. These same ones?

→ D. These same ones. And see if they will now want to talk. When it comes to Sirica and sentencing, he may be giving the ones who talk a lesser sentence. If they don't talk, he will probably leave these long sentences stand.

[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 193]

3.2 *When can the article 'the' be deleted?*

A context in which *same* occurs without the definite article--or any other form--is when *same* occupies initial position in a turn constructional unit or TCU. By the notion of TCU, Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) have noted that a turn is composed of unit-types which may be lexical, phrasal, clausal, or sentential in nature. Interactants orient to these varying TCUs in the course of their production for points of possible turn completion, that is, places in the talk at which turn transition may be effected.

In our current corpus, there were 11 cases as exemplified in examples (3) and (4) in which *same* occupies initial position in a TCU; note that (3) is also turn initial but (4) is not:

(3)

P: ...And once it did happen, not cutting it off right then- stepping forward and saying, "I (unintelligible) this. These kids shouldn't have done this and that's my (unintelligible) best judgment." Well, I think I know. They just thought that might hurt the election.

→ R: Same thing is true in Vesco. That case he's involved in. [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 716]

(4)

→ You're just like a man who sits and watches computers all day. Same thing. Just like Big Brother's watching you. [Terkel, 1972, p. 524]

When *same* occupies initial position in a TCU, the definite article appears to be deletable, provided the context is informal. The definite article may be such a heavily presupposed item that under certain conditions, for example, when occurring in TCU initial position it may be omitted from the surface utterance but remain as an understood form. In example (4), the understood full utterance may be, "It's the same thing," but through elliptical processes (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) other elements may drop out leaving us with the surface phrase, "Same thing." Thus the phrase "the same thing" may start out in TCU final position (or be part of the predicate) but end up in initial TCU position as schematized in number (5) on your handout.

(5)

It's the same thing. (NP with "*same*" in TCU final position)

The same thing. (ellipsis of subject pronoun *it* and verb *be*)

Same thing. (deletion of *the* in TCU initial position)

Furthermore, it is worth noting that when *the same* or *the same* + Noun occupies final position in a TCU or when it follows the main verb, the definite article is rarely, if ever, omitted as shown in examples (6) and (7):

(6)

M. In hypnotism it could be the voice of the hypnotist or it could

→ be the images he is having you visualize, but it's the same.

F. It's some way to focus on something outside so that you can look inward?

[Weinstein, 1984, p. 29]

(7)

P. It's under cover. They'll push him. I think he can put up a pretty good fight on the thing don't you?

H.I would think so.

P. If they indict him, it is going to be a damn hard case to prove. You've got to prove motive there, don't you, John?

E. Yes. Dean argues that in a conspiracy such as they are trying to build

→ they may not have to prove the same kind of (unintelligible) of some of the participants but only that they were in it. I would have to read the cases. I just don't know what the law is.

[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 357]

3.3 *What is the structure of tokens where (the) same occurs without a Head noun?*

There is another issue pertaining to deletable elements in our analysis of *the same*. One can also argue that there is almost always some understood general noun following *same* which can be reconstructed if it does not appear on the surface. See examples (8) and (9) in which the general nouns in parentheses represent our interpretations of what might have been deleted or presupposed in cases as these ~~were~~ where (the) same is not followed by a head noun:

(8)

The job is boring. It's a real repetitious thing. I don't notice the time. I could care less about the time. I don't really know if it's five o'clock until I see somebody

→ clean up their desk. At five I leave for school. It's always the same (thing/ schedule). [Terkel, 1972, p. 524]

(9)

Female. Do the students come back you know and tell you what they've done and how they're doing in life?

Male. Not enough. You know, uh, and it's funny, the kids you get very close to because you have to, you know there's no way that you're going to treat everybody

→ the same (way) but you know, your emotions don't do that.

[Weinstein, 1984, p. 43].

It is possible that the utterances contain the understood general nouns *thing (*or *schedule)* and *way*, but since these nouns are heavily presupposed, they do not necessarily show up in the surface representation. Since this seems plausible, we would argue that *same*

always functions basically as an adjective within a nominal group because of the potential existence of elliptical and (heavily) presupposed general nouns following *same*. Accordingly, when the adjective *same* functions as head of a nominal group, then (*the*) *same* appears to take on noun- or pronoun-like properties because of the understood general head nouns.

In fact, based on our investigation of naturally occurring spoken data, it was most typical for a head noun to follow the item *the same*. We found 213 cases (or 82%) with a head noun out of 259. Thus the function of *the same* was much more typically that of modifier than that of head of a nominal group. *The same* + zero noun occurred in only 46 (or 18%) of our examples and in all such cases some general head noun could plausibly be added to the noun phrase.

3.4 (The) Same in Comparative Reference

Our data confirm that (*the*) *same* is also used in cohesive ties of comparative reference, as Halliday and Hasan (1976) proposed. Example (10) offers one instance.

(10)

I got out of the army in '64. I took the test for transit police, housing police, and

city police. It's the same test.

[Terkel, 1972, p. 749]

The referent of *the same* is a previously mentioned noun, namely, "test." *The same* signals 'one-and-the-sameness,' namely, co-reference of all three tests with each other.

In another dataset in Terkel (1972), however, we found an interesting form of comparative reference in which the referent of *the same* is not an overtly mentioned item in the previous discourse. Consider examples (11) and (12).

(11) Today I can walk in the boiler room with clean trousers and go home with clean trousers. ..Before air pollution we used to burn this [i.e. garbage]. We burned it in the same boiler every morning.

[Terkel, 1972, p. 172]

(12) This kind of honesty is part of it. But he's in the business himself. His bread is in the same gravy.

[Terkel, 1972, p. 113]

The nouns which follow *the same*, namely, *boiler*, and *gravy*, do not refer to a previously identified noun. It was not the "boiler" but the "boiler room" that was mentioned

previously in (11). And in (12), "gravy" was not mentioned previously in any form, although "gravy" may be taken as meaning something such as "profitable business."

These two examples perhaps serve to indicate that cohesive ties of reference are relative in terms of explicitness, gradable from explicit to vague especially in conversation.

3.5 (The) Same in Nominal Substitution

Turning now to the cohesive use of *(the) same* in nominal substitution, in our data examples which closely resemble those discussed by Halliday and Hasan include examples (13) and (14) on your handout.

(13)

P. He was in that meeting?

H. Which Colson was supposed to have been in.

P. Right, right, right.

H. Colson doesn't remember being in it, but Colson flatly says that there was never anything where he was where there was a discussion of Hunt getting out

→ of the country. Kehrli says the same thing.

[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, p. 618]

(14)

D. Did Mr. Chapin's departure have something to do with his involvement with Mr. Segretti?

→ P. What about Mr. Dean? My position is the same. We have cooperated with the Justice Department, the FBI – completely tried to furnish information under our control in this matter...

[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, p. 99]

Example (15), however, is somewhat different:

(15)

The wealthy, the ruling crowds, they enjoy all the things that workers produce. They're greedy, they're just like animals. I've seen dogs that they have just filled themselves and they couldn't eat another bite, but they would not tolerate another

→ animal comin' near the food. The human animals, too, some of 'em are the same. No matter how much they have, they wouldn't part with any of it and they wouldn't let nobody else get it if they could help it.

[Terkel, 1972, p. 738]

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), in cases of *the same* used in nominal substitution, *the same* presupposes an entire nominal group except whatever element is repudiated. By repudiation they mean the segment of an anaphoric text that is not carried over or presupposed. In example (15), it is not entirely clear what is presupposed and what is repudiated. In order to access the meaning of *the same*, one has to compare, figuratively speaking, greedy wealthy people with hungry dogs. Viewed from this angle, it would appear that in conversation substitution, as a form of cohesion, is not merely a grammatical relation, a relation of wording, as Halliday and Hasan (1976) have proposed, but indeed may involve a semantic relation, one involving meaning especially in cases such as (15) in which an analogy is drawn.

4. Summary

In summary, based on data from conversation, we propose that the most frequent grammatical function of *same* in conversation is adjectival within a nominal group with a Head noun and not, as Halliday and Hasan's account (1976) suggests, occurring alone in an elliptical noun head in a nominal group. When *same* is preceded by a definite article,

which gives the item a nominal-like flavor (i.e. *the same*), we feel that *same* is still functioning as an adjective that can serve also as head of a nominal group because the understood general head noun is not overtly expressed. The observation that general head nouns tend to follow (*the*) *same* (82% in our data), strongly suggests that other cases of ("the) same" appear to have head nouns that may have been deleted due to elliptical processes.

In its potential to function as both a modifier and a head, *the same* behaves very much like ordinals, for example, the first, the last. But our conversation data reveal that *the same* does not typically recur without a head noun; its most frequent function is that of modifier of a noun. Hence we would argue that *the same* is akin to Bolinger's (1967) reference adjectives, which include ordinals, and which can either modify a head noun or stand alone elliptically.

One environment in which the definite article is not used is when *same* is preceded by a demonstrative instead of *the*, but this is not an omission but use of another alternate definite form.

Moreover, the position of the form *(the) same* within a TCU and the informality of the register appear to influence whether or not the definite article precedes *same*. In our corpus, tokens of *the same* in TCU initial position appear to allow deletion of the definite article, if the context is informal.

5. *Cohesion Analysis and Conversation Analysis*

The turn constructional unit and not the sentence, clause, utterance, etc. was the unit that provided the best explanation for deletion of the definite article 'the' in our conversation data for the same. Units such as these which come from conversation analysis may well help to extend and enrich future work in cohesion analysis that uses data from conversation. (However, we point out that we have also used more general and long-accepted linguistic arguments when we discussed the deletion of the head noun.)

It is certainly plausible that a more comprehensive analysis of cohesion in English (or any other language) is not only about relations of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and the like, but also about the form and shape of turns, sequences, and the like, and how the systematic features of a syntax-for-conversation (Schegloff, 1979, 1996; Sacks, 1995) make it possible for participants to produce and recognize talk or

"text" as a unified whole and not as a group of connected utterances or sentences. Even Halliday and Hasan (1989: 81-82) said as much when they briefly discussed 'organic' as opposed to 'componential' resources for cohesion. More work needs to be done in terms of linking a conversation analytic framework with issues and concerns in cohesion analysis. We see this as a rich area for further analysis. In fact Halliday and Hasan (1976) seem to be hinting at this type of research themselves (p. 327) in a brief mention of conversation analysis.

(1) H: Because we wanted the separation. The question is, are you then, as of now, the way they have interpreted executive privilege, is that you are not going to let Chapin testify.
P: Anybody.
H: Because it applies to executive privilege by the former people in relation to matters while they were here.
D: And the problem area is…
▸ H: And that same thing would apply to Colson.
D: Well, yes, if Chuck were truly going to be doing nothing from this day on.
[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 94]

(2) H: You know he can pick the Grand Jury. Or he said he could.
P: The government is going to do that for a while.
D: A week after sentencing they are going to take all of the people who have been sentenced before a Grand Jury.
▸ P: These same ones?
▸ D: These same ones. And see if they will now want to talk. When it comes to Sirica and sentencing, he may be giving the ones who talk a lesser sentence. If they don't talk, he will probably leave these long sentences stand.
[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 193]

(3) P: …And once it did happen, not cutting it off right then- stepping forward and saying, "I (unintelligible) this. These kids shouldn't have done this and that's my (unintelligible) best judgment." Well, I think I know. They just thought that might hurt the election.
▸ R: Same thing is true in Vesco. That case he's involved in.
[The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p.716]

(4) ▸ You're just like a man who sits and watches computers all day. Same thing. Just like Big Brother's watching you. [Terkel, 1972, p. 524]

(5) It's the same thing. (NP with "*same*" in clause final position)
The same thing. (ellipsis of subject pronoun *it* and verb *be*)
Same thing. (deletion of *the* in TCU initial position)

(6) M: In hypnotism it could be the voice of the hypnotist or it could be the images he
▸ is having you visualize, but it's the same.
F: It's some way to focus on something outside so that you can look inward?
[Weinstein, 1984, p. 29]

(7) P: It's under cover. They'll push him. I think he can put up a pretty good fight on the thing don't you?
H: I would think so.
P: If they indict him, it is going to be a damn hard case to prove. You've got to prove motive there, don't you, John?
E: Yes. Dean argues that in a conspiracy such as they are trying to build they may
▸ not have to prove the same kind of (unintelligible) of some of the participants but only that they were in it. I would have to read the cases. I just don't know what the

law is. [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 357]

(8) The job is boring. It's a real repetitious thing. I don't notice the time. I could care less about the time. I don't really know if it's five o'clock until I see somebody clean up their desk. At five I leave for school. It's always the same (thing/ schedule). [Terkel, 1972, p. 524]

(9) Female: Do the students come back you know and tell you what they've done and how they're doing in life?
Male: Not enough. You know, uh, and it's funny, the kids you get very close to because you have to, you know there's no way that you're going to treat everybody the same (way) but you know, your emotions don't do that. [Weinstein, 1984, p. 43]

(10) I got out of the army in '64. I took the test for transit police, housing police, and city police. It's the same test. [Terkel, 1972, p. 749]

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(12) This kind of honesty is part of it. But he's in the business himself. His bread is in the same gravy. [Terkel, 1972, p.113]

(13) P: He was in that meeting?
H: Which Colson was supposed to have been in.
P: Right, right, right.
H: Colson doesn't remember being in it, but Colson flatly says that there was never anything where he was where there was a discussion of Hunt getting out of the country. Kehrli says the same thing. [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 618]

(14) D: Did Mr. Chapin's departure have something to do with his involvement with Mr. Segretti?
P: What about Mr. Dean? My position is the same. We have cooperated with the Justice Department, the FBI – completely tried to furnish information under our control in this matter... [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 99]

(15) The wealthy, the ruling crowds, they enjoy all the things that workers produce. They're greedy, they're just like animals. I've seen dogs that they have just filled themselves and they couldn't eat another bite, but they would not tolerate another animal comin' near the food. The human animals, too, some of 'em are the same. No matter how much they have, they wouldn't part with any of it and they wouldn't let nobody else get it if they could help it. [Terkel, 1972, p. 738]